

## Message Text

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ACTION IO-13

INFO OCT-01 AF-10 ARA-11 EUR-25 NEA-10 ADP-00 EA-11

CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-09 H-02 INR-09 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10

PA-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-14 USIA-12 T-03 ACDA-19 INT-08

RSR-01 /176 W

----- 107227

R 210337 Z MAR 73

FM AMEMBASSY PANAMA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6919

INFO USUN NEW YORK 327

AMEMBASSY KHARTOUM

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI

AMEMBASSY PARIS

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E. O. 11652: N/ A

TAGS: PFOR, UNSC, PN, PQ

SUBJ: SC MEETING IN PANAMA - MARCH 20 MORNING SESSION

FROM USDEL

SUMMARY: FIRST SITTING OF MARCH 20 ADVANCED MEETING TO MORE SERIOUS PLANE WITH OPENING STATEMENT BY SECGEN WALDHEIM AND ADDRESSES BY PERMANENT SC REPS, FRANCE AND UK. SUDAN, INDIA, AND ZAIRE ALSO SPOKE. HEAVIEST FLOOR AND GALLERY AUDIENCES SINCE OPENING HEARD AMBASSADOR SCALI'S STATEMENT WHICH ENDED MORNING SESSION. END SUMMARY.

1. MEETING OPENED WITH STATEMENT BY SYG WALDHEIM (SEPTEL).
2. AMB. RAHMATALLA ABDULLA OF SUDAN EXTENDED HEARTY WELCOME TO AMB. SCALI. HE THEN WOVE THEME STRESSING SUDAN'S MEMBERSHIP IN AFRICAN AND ARAB GROUPS SHOWING EACH'S SYMPATHY AND ADMIRATION

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WITH LATIN AMERICAN INTERESTS. HE SPECIFICALLY NOTED SUDANESE SYMPATHY AND SOLIDARITY WITH PANAMA. MORE GENERALLY HE NOTED THAT ARAB AND AFRICAN PEOPLES HISTORICALLY FOUND HOME IN LATIN AMERICA AND HAVE BEEN ASSIMILATED BY IT. SUDANESE DEL APPROVED OF EFFORTS TO INTEGRATE CARIBBEAN NATIONS INTO LATIN AMERICAN GROUP. HE NOTED AFRICAN GROUP SUPPORT FOR OUT-OF-HEADQUARTERS MEETINGS RECALLING THAT LAST YEAR'S ADDIS SESSION FOCUSED ATTENTION ON PORTUGUESE, SOUTH AFRICAN AND SOUTH RHODESIAN SUPPRESSION OF PEOPLES' RIGHT TO SELF-DETERMINATION. AFTER NOTING THE ARAB LEAGUE SUPPORTED THE PANAMA MEETING, HE CONDEMNED THE "REPEATED ZIONIST AGGRESSION WHICH HAS DEPRIVED EGYPT OF ITS TERRITORY AND INTERNATIONAL FREE TRANSIT THROUGH SUEZ CANAL. HE CALLED FOR SELF-DETERMINATION FOR PEOPLE OF PALESTINE. ABDULLA SAID THAT HIS DELEGATION HAD COME TO PANAMA TO SEE HOW SC COULD CONTRIBUTE TO LA ASPIRATIONS FOR PEACE. ON COLONIAL ISSUE HE FELT DISDAIN FOR THOSE WHO BELIEVE THAT OTHER PEOPLE WERE NOT WORTHY TO GOVERN THEMSELVES AND THEREFORE FELT A SENSE OF APPRECIATION FOR LA CONTRIBUTION TO DECOLONIZATION. ON DISARMAMENT, AFTER PRAISING NFZ TREATY, HE HOPED THAT IT WOULD BE OPEN TO ALL COUNTRIES OF THE REGION. HE FURTHER ALIGNED SUDAN WITH LA DESIRE FOR DOMINION OVER NATIONAL NATURAL RESOURCES. IN REF TO CANAL ISSUE HE OPINED THAT 1903 TREATY UNFAIR AND FOREIGN TO SPIRIT OF THE AGE. HE QUOTED WITH APPROVAL PERUVIAN STATEMENT THAT CANAL ZONE INDISSOLVABLE PART OF PANAMA. NONETHELESS, HE WAS GLAD TO LEARN THAT U.S. AND PANAMA AGREE ON CONCEPT OF SOVEREIGNTY ISSUE AND URGED THAT OLD TREATY BE QUICKLY REPLACED BY ONE THAT RECOGNIZED TRUE PANAMANIAN SOVEREIGNTY RIGHTS. CONTINUANCE OF 1903 TREATY WOULD ENDANGER LA PEACE AND SECURITY. SUDAN AS CONSEQUENCE WILL SUPPORT ANY DECLARATION THAT WILL BRING ABOUT CHANGE IN CANAL REALITY AND ANY OTHER THAT WOULD ADVANCE PEACE AND SECURITY IN LA. ABDULLA CLOSED EXPRESSING SOLIDARITY WITH LA AND ENGLISH-SPEAKING BROTHERS IN CARIBBEAN.

3. INDIA'S AMBASSADOR SAMAR SEN DELIVERED OBLIQUELY AND DIPLOMATICALLY WORDED STATEMENT THAT BEGAN WITH FLOWERY EXPRESSION OF DEEP ADMIRATION FOR BOYD PERSONALLY, GENERAL TORRIJOS' SPEECH AND ATTENTIONS OF GOP. HE RECORDED THAT INDIA WAS INCREASING ITS CONTACTS WITH LA AND RECENTLY APPOINTED INDIAN AMBASSADOR TO GOP, WHO WAS PRESENT ON UNSC DELEGATION. HE DESCRIBED A NEW AND VIBRANT SPIRIT IN LATIN AMERICA WHICH

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REQUIRED AN ADJUSTMENT IN LA FOREIGN RELATIONS. THIS, ACCORDING

TO SEN, WAS EXPLANATION FOR BROAD WORDING OF AGENDA.  
SC CANNOT FIND SOLUTIONS TO MANY OF QUESTIONS RAISED BY  
FOREIGN MINISTER WHO HAVE SPOKEN WITHOUT STUDY, BUT THESE  
PROBLEMS MUST BE HEARD. GONE ARE DAYS, HE SAID, QUOTING  
U S SECY OF STATE OLNEY, WHEN UNITED STATES COULD PROCLAIM IT-  
SELF SOVEREIGN ON AMERICAN CONTINENT. INDIA, WHICH HAS LONG  
BELIEVED IN PRINCIPLE OF NON- ALIGNMENT, IS INCREASINGLY BEING  
PROVEN RIGHT. HE LAMENTED FAILUREOF MANY TO ACHIEVE FULL  
SOVEREIGNTY BECAUSE OF OUTSIDE PRESSURE AND INTOLERANCE  
DIFFERENT POLITICAL SYSTEMS BY SOME GREAT POWERS WHICH WAS SHOWN  
AT TIMES BY MILITARY PRESSURE. HE SAID TRUE COLONIALISM IS MORE  
PREVALENT IN AFRICA THAN LA BUT LAS WISH TO CORRECT  
EFFECTS OF NEO- COLONIALISM WHICH HAVE BEEN IMPOSED UPON  
THEM IN PAST, AND THUS SEEK, FOR EXAMPLE, TO REDEFINE  
LIMITS OF THEIR TERRITORIAL SEAS. IN MILITARY FIELD HE  
URGED THAT MORE COUNTREIS ARE COMING TO RECOGNIZE THAT FOREIGN  
BASES AND ALLIANCES BRING WITH THEM MORE TENSION THAN PEACE,  
AND HE CRITICIZED EXCESSIVE TRADE IN ARMS. TURNING TO  
CANAL ISSUE HE EXPRESSED UNDERSTANDING PANAMA' S PROPER  
RESENTMENT OVER VISIBLE SIGNS OF EXTRA- TERRITORIAL SOVEREIGNTY  
HERE. THE 1903 TREATY WAS NOT " NORMAL " ESPECIALLY IN VIEW OF  
MEANS BY WHICH IT WAS DONE. HE WAS GLAD THAT U S HAD  
AGREED TO CHANGE IT AND THAT CONCEPT OF PERPETUALITY WOULD  
BE GIVEN UP. HE COUNSELED THAT NEGOTIATING PARTIES SEARCH  
FOR FLEXIBLE LANGUAGE THAT WOULD LEAD TO ANY EARLY  
CONCLUSION OF NEGOTIATIONS, NOT AS RESULT OF SC  
DIRECTION BUT OF NEGOTIATION OF EQUALS. HE EXPRESSED  
SYMPATHY FOR PERUVIAN NATURAL RESOURCES RESOLUTION AND HOPED  
THAT AFTER BEING MODIFIED BY MORE CONSULTATION IT COULD BE  
ADOPTED UNANIMOUSLY. HE GAVE HALF- HEARTED SUPPORT TO  
DECLARATION BY THE SC PRESIDENT WHICH WOULD RECORD SC  
ACTIONS IN PANAMA AND POINT TOWARDS NEW DIRECTIONS, BUT HE NOTED  
THAT MANY OF PROBLEMS WERE BILATERAL AND COULD NOT BE RESOLVED  
HERE.

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4. FRENCH AMBASSADOR DE GUIRINGUAD BEGAN BY OFFERING COMPLIMENTS TO GOP PREPARATIONS AND TO PANAMANIAN LEADERS FOR THEIR YOUTH, DEDICATION AND WILLINGNESS TO TRY NEW METHODS. HE REMINDED HIS LISTENERS, HOWEVER, OF LA HUMANIST AND JURIDICAL TRADITION AND THAT FRANCE IS ALSO GUARDIAN OF LATIN HERITAGE. HE NOTED FRANCE'S EARLY IDENTIFICATION WITH CANAL WHICH, DUE TO UNFORTUNATE TECHNICAL, FINANCIAL AND HEALTH DIFFICULTIES COULD NOT BE COMPLETED DESPITE LARGE EXPENDITURES OF MEN AND MONEY. HE QUOTED GENERAL DE GAULLE AS SAYING THAT "LATIN AMERICA IS CONTINENT OF TWENTIETH CENTURY". FRANCE'S SYMPATHY WITH LA ALSO GROWS OUT OF ITS FOREIGN POLICY, WHICH RECOGNIZES NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE AND DESIRE FOR INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION. SC IS MEETING IN PANAMA FOR "PREVENTIVE DIPLOMACY". LAS FEEL NEED TO ADJUST THEIR FOREIGN RELATIONS TO BETTER PROTECT THEIR SOVEREIGNTY. IN FOREFRONT OF QUESTIONS CONSIDERED BY SC IS CANAL. IT IS PRIMARILY A BILATERAL PROBLEM FRANCE HOPES TWO PARTIES WILL SOON RESOLVE. PROSPECTS ARE FAVORABLE BECAUSE TWO SIDES AGREE ON INTENTIONS. DE GUIRINGAUD DOES NOT THINK IT IS FOR SC

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TO ENTER IN OR DICTATE TERMS. IT IS IMPORTANT THAT IMPORTANT INTERNATIONAL WATERWAY REMAIN OPEN TO INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY. ON OTHER SPECIFIC QUESTIONS RAISED IN SC FRENCH DELEGATE FELT THERE WAS DIFFERENCE BETWEEN FORMATION OF PRINCIPLES AND THEIR APPLICATION TO SPECIFIC CASES. FOR MANY OF QUESTIONS HE FELT THAT GA ORECOSOC MIGHT BETTER HANDLE DEVELOPMENT OF PRINCIPLES AND FEARED THAT SC MIGHT IN FUTURE ENCROACH ON GA'S WORK. NONETHELESS, HE WAS PLEASED THAT LA PROBLEMS WERE BEING AIRED AND FELT THAT LAS SHOULD BE ASSURED THAT THEY HAVE BEEN.

5. AMB. IPOTO OF ZAIRE MADE POETIC ALLUSIONS

TO CANAL AS PROOF OF INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION AND OF THE INTERDEPENDENCE OF PEOPLES. HE FELT SC MEETING IN PANAMA WAS IN SUNSE A POSTHUMOUS TRIBUTE TO BOLIVAR. HE AGREED WITH LAS THAT ECONOMIC INDEPENDENCE WAS NECESSARY, BUT OF POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT, CALLING THAN " DIALECTICAL PAIR". HE SUGGESTED THAT UNSC MIGHT DRAFT CONVENTION REGARDING SOVEREIGNTY OVER NATURAL RESOURCES AND OPEN IT FOR WORLDWIDE SIGNATURE. HE NOTED THAT THERE WERE SOME QUESTIONS THAT MIGHT PROVOKE USE OF FORCE, BUT HOPED THAT CANAL WOULD NOT BE ONE OF THEM. THE TWO PARTIES SHOULD NOT BE SATISFIED WITH THE APPEARANCE OF PEACE BUT IT WAS UP TO THEM TO NEGOTIATE A SOLUTION.

6. UK AMBASSADOR COLIN CROWE AND BOYD SHOWED APPRECIATION FOR PANAMANIAN HOSPITALITY, NOTED THAT PANAMA MEETING WAS CALLED TO CONSIDER PEACE AND SECURITY IN LA. AFTER LISTENING ADMIRINGLY TO PRESENTATION OF LA FONMINS AND DELEGATES, HE HAD STRONG IMPRESSION THAT LA PEACE AND SECURITY IS IN GOOD HANDS. HE RECALLED LA LIBERAL AND DEMOCRATIC TRADITION WITH WHICH UK IDENTIFIED SINCE 1826 CONFERENCE. BOLIVAR WAS PROPHET WHO FORESAW DEVELOPMENT OF OAS. CROWE FELT IT NATURAL THAT LA SHOULD HAVE PLAYED LARGE UN ROLE AND NOTED ITS LEADERSHIP IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF ECLA AND DISARMAMENT. WHILE AGREEING THAT ECONOMIC QUESTIONS CAN HAVE POLITICAL CONSIDERATIONS, HE STRUCK NOTE OF CAUTION. HE OPINED THAT SC IS NOT PROPER FORM TO DEBATE PRINCIPLES THAT UNDERLINE ECONOMIC AND SOCAIL SUBJECTS. LA CONTENTIONS, NONETHELESS, DESERVE SYMPATHETIC HEARING. THERE HAVE BEEN NUMBEROUS REFERENCES TO THE CANAL ZONE AS A THREAT TO PEACE AND SECURITY, BUT TWO COUNTRIES BY THEIR DESCRIPTION OF THE STATE OF NEGOTIATION ATTEST THAT THIS IS NOT SO. UK WOULD  
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INDEED BE CONCERNED IF CANAL WERE TO BECOME FOCUS OF INTERNATIONAL DISPTE. ON ALLEGATIONS OF COLONIALISM IN LA, CROWE FELT THAT QUESTIONS OF BELIZE AND MALVINAS WERE PROPERLY BILATERAL MATTERS AND HE WAS GLAD THAT GUATEMALA AND ARGENTINA REPS HAD AGREED THAT THEY WERE NOT SC AGENDA MATTERS. HE SPOKE OF BRITISH PROGRESS IN DECOLONIZATIONMENTION BAHAMAS AND ASSOCIATED STATE OF GRENADA. HE CLOSED NOTING THAT VOICE OF LA HAS BEEN ONE OF MODERATION AS HAS BEEN EFFECTS OF ITS ACTIONS IN UN.

7. BY 1 2:40 PM WHEN FLOOR WAS GIVEN TO AMB. SCALI, BOTH GALLERIES AND FLOOR OF SC CHAMBERS WERE AS FULL ( OF PANAMANIANS WHOSE HOSTILITY OCCASIONALLY AUDIBLE IN MINOR KEY) AS THEY HAVE BEEN AT ANY TIME SINCE OPENING SESSION. THERE WAS CLEARLY AN ATMOSPHERE OF EXPECTATION AND HIS SPEECH WAS GIVEN A CLOSE HEARING. WHEN SPEECH FINISHED, BOYD GAVE SIMPLE THANKS TO SCALI, IN CONTRAST TO OFTEN EFFUSIVE REMARKS AT END OF OTHER

SPEECHES, AND THEN PANAMA RESERVES RIGHT TO REPLY TO CERTAIN STATEMENTS IN AMB. SCALI'S SPEECH, WHICH WERE NOT IN KEEPING WITH REALITY AS HE SAW IT, NOR REFLECTING HIS VIEW OF NEGOTIATIONS TO DATE.

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